Auto rebound on the backs of workers

I am turning over my column this month to the co-editor of News & Letters, Felix Martin, for a report of the crisis auto workers are facing — Charles Denby

The collapse of the Chrysler talks only further demonstrates how much the company is in the driver’s seat over our UAW union bureaucracy which is supposed to be ‘leading’ us. Only it is we auto workers who are being, once again, taken for a ride.

Chrysler had just announced that its profits hit an all time high — 50% higher in the second quarter than in the first quarter. With earnings up 190% over last year, Chrysler decided to re-pay the remaining $800 million in outstanding debts it still owes the government.

BODYGUARDS FOR CHRYSLER

The union leadership, which had pressured us into giving all the concessions and give-backs to Chrysler, saying otherwise the company would “go under,” now expected a little reward for being bodyguards of Chrysler’s capital. They thought they would be able to walk right in and get $1 an hour back off the top from what we gave up. But the company said no thank you. After all why should they? For the truth of Chrysler’s “recovery” is that it all came on the backs of the workers. Not only was there the mass-wage and benefit concessions that the UAW leadership forced us to agree to back in 1980. What did we get in return? Massive unemployment was our reward with Chrysler going from 36 plants down to 18.

And now that the automakers have grown fat by getting concession after concession, it doesn’t mean they will “Share the wealth.” On the contrary, management and union leadership now speak of creating a “new era” (Continued on Page 16)

In-person report: International Farm Crisis Summit

Farm activists ‘Forging the Links’ to deal with agricultural crisis

Ottawa, Ontario — Farmers and supporters from more than two dozen activist farm organizations in North America, Western Europe and East Asia gathered here the weekend of July 9 for the first International Farm Crisis Summit.

Unlike other agriculture summits, this was not agriculture leaders and government officials getting together, although politicians wary of the growing militancy of farmers organizing provided a chandeliered hall in Parliament House itself for the conference meetings. The participants came together intent on “Forging the Links” — the conference title — among farmers’ groups in the U.S., Canada, and internationally, and with labor, peace and other movements of opposition.

The need for “forging the links” has become clear when we look at the devastation that farmers are facing. In the U.S. and Canada farmers are being driven off the land by bank foreclosures and by low farm prices. They are being replaced by corporate farms, which are nearly the only ones able to afford the huge capital investment necessary to farm today.

But the farmers have been organizing to fight back. Sometimes they have stormed foreclosure sales, stopping them outright. Other times they have organized penny auctions at these foreclosure sales so that the farm and equipment can be given back to the farmers. New organizations, such as the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA), which is organizing farmers and actively seeking links with workers as well as with movements of Blacks and women, are springing up.

It was to face this crisis in agriculture and to organize opposition to it, that activists in the farm movement came together in Ottawa. It was also why we from News & Letters came to listen and participate.

The urgency was caught by a Nebraska wheat farmer who had just driven 29 hours to get here, and who told us “We worked to the last minute preparing for the harvest that may begin today, but I told the others I had to come here — if we can’t do something about prices immediately — we’re out of farming.”

He was enthused to hear that the day before, farmers from Holland, France, Germany and Denmark had talked about their own similar problems, and what they were doing in opposition.

THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION

The most exciting feature of the Summit was its internationalism, and it transformed the assembly as the days went on. The feeling of solidarity was contagious. The

4th Expanded Edition

American Civilization on Trial — Black Masses as Vanguard

On the 20th anniversary of

* the 1963 March on Washington

* the first publication of American Civilization on trial

4th expanded edition includes

“A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa” by Raya Dunayevskaya

Historic Turning Points: Slave Revolts; Women’s Liberation; Anti-Imperialism • Emergence of the Third World as Marx Foresaw It • Revolutions in Philosophy and in Fact • Mass Unrest Today and the Need for Truly Human Foundations

American Civilization on Trial was used in Freedom Schools in the South. Includes chapters on:

Imperialism and Racism • Nationalism and Internationalism • “Black Caucuses in the Union” by Charles Denby

American Civilization on Trial Cast a New Illumination on the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa

on Trial

BLACK MASSES AS VANGUARD

Excerpts from “A 1980s View…”

On this double 20th anniversary of the famous 1963 March on Washington and the first publication of American Civilization on Trial, the struggle continues. The planned Aug. 27, 1983 March on Washington is taking place when the deep economic recession spells out Depression for the Black world, not only in terms of unemployment — especially that of the youth which is an incredible 50% — but in the whole field of civil rights, where that supreme artificer, President Reagan, is trying to roll back what civil rights struggles had achieved over the past two decades.

American Civilization on Trial cast a new illumination on the two-way road between Africa and the U.S. via the West Indies by showing what, to the capitalists, was the triangular trade of rum, molasses and slaves, was, to the Blacks, the ever-living triangular development of internationalism, masses in motion and ideas. This triangular development remains the dominant force to this day.

What American Civilization on Trial reveals is both Marx’s deep American roots and his internationalist conception. Take the succinct way in which Marx pinpointed the situation in the Civil War at its darkest moment, as the war dragged on and the Southern generals were winning so decisively as to produce a defeatist attitude in the North. Where others looked at the military pressures, Marx looked at the forces of revolution: “A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves… a war of nerves and must be conducted along revolutionary lines
MacKinnon's theory 'thingsifies' women

'WOMAN AS REASON'

Dear Sisters,

I want to review Catharine MacKinnon's two-part article published in 1983, which addressed the specific issue of women's liberation within the context of broader social movements. My review is organized around the key points made in the article, which I will discuss in turn.

Firstly, MacKinnon argues that women have become the object of historical transformation, and that to understand women's liberation, we must understand the concept of the 'subject of transformation.' She suggests that women have been objectified by society, and that this objectification is a key factor in understanding the nature of women's oppression.

Secondly, MacKinnon emphasizes the importance of understanding the concept of 'gender' as a social construct. She argues that gender is not simply a biological category, but rather a social category that is constructed and deconstructed over time. This understanding of gender is crucial to understanding the nature of women's oppression, and to developing strategies for women's liberation.

Thirdly, MacKinnon argues that women's liberation is not simply a matter of increasing women's access to power, but rather a matter of transforming the very nature of power itself. She suggests that this transformation requires a critique of the concept of 'equality,' which has often been used to maintain the status quo.

Fourthly, MacKinnon argues that women's liberation must be understood in the context of broader social movements. She suggests that women's liberation is not an isolated struggle, but rather a part of a larger struggle for social transformation. This understanding of women's liberation is crucial to understanding the nature of the struggle for women's liberation.

In conclusion, MacKinnon's theory 'thingsifies' women by emphasizing the importance of understanding the concept of 'gender' as a social construct, and by arguing that women's liberation must be understood in the context of broader social movements. This theory provides a powerful framework for understanding the nature of women's oppression, and for developing strategies for women's liberation.

Susan Van Gelder
Dockers shut S.F. ports for union rights

San Francisco, Cal. — A mass confrontation of over 1,200 waterfront workers at the small port of Richmond and a strike of all dockers in the entire San Francisco Bay Area forced a settlement from a company that had been bypassing the union for over six months. The dockers had repeatedly scored restraining orders from a court as well as arbitration rulings against us.

The Levin Metals Corporation has been ignoring the historic jurisdiction of the locals of the International Longshoremen’s Association. The company has been the leading user of green petroleum coke at its Pier 5 Terminal in the small Richmond harbor. Although only 15 or so jobs are involved with green coke, they have displaced dockers who were deprived of the scarcity of available work in the industry due to automation and had us on the alert for this scalab operation. Up until now these workers had not been allowed to strike, so a mass violation with merely token picketing, but when they attempted to come together for a big reaction against them in the longshore local here.

**Mass Picketing**

During a discussion on Friday, June 24, about what to do against the vessel which was to arrive the next day, a very active meeting took place. A local told us that he wouldn’t even go to Richmond if the union didn’t aim for mass picketing. What followed that, a co-worker told us, was a threat of a strike and told us we had to “phone calls” demanding serious action. This may explain why we found over 300 dockers at the port the next day. But since they were constrained by instructions not to shut the operation down entirely, the pressure from the rank and file was extremely strong.

So the decision was made on Sunday to shut down all the ports in the Bay Area and that was done the next morning. The strike was shot down by the leverage of the August 27 highly angry pickets in Richmond led the Levin Corporation to halt their entire operation, and by late afternoon they conceded with a settlement.

It should be especially noted that the notorious racist killer-cops of Richmond were immobilized in the face of the mass demonstration of black, Chicanos, Asians, whites, Hawaiian Islanders, etc., including men and women. These police announced rules for the conduct of this mass of workers but wisely refrained from trying to enforce them when they were openly violated by the pickets.

**S.F. dockers demand living wage**

We complain that we are treated like “savages” or “animals” or “machines.” This is the way things are set up, not just supervisors’ bad attitudes. The company defends with family and friends, working in our communities and developing our minds. The wealth that we have produced is turned against us as the company seeks ways to automate us. We can’t take back what is ours by stealing more ham. One worker summed it up: “Let’s get together and do something.”

---

**Sanderson Bakery fires 200**

Detroit, Mich. — “They gave us five minutes to decide what we’re going to do with the rest of our lives and we got kicked out the door with no seniority, no nothing.”

So reported a 67-year-old man to the Free Press in reaction against them in the longshore local here.

Another of the 200 very angry pickets in Richmond led the Levin Corporation to halt their entire operation, and by late afternoon they conceded with a settlement.

It should be especially noted that the notorious racist killer-cops of Richmond were immobilized in the face of the mass demonstration of black, Chicanos, Asians, whites, Hawaiian Islanders, etc., including men and women. These police announced rules for the conduct of this mass of workers but wisely refrained from trying to enforce them when they were openly violated by the pickets.

**Agar steals more than just one piece at a time**

Chicago, Ill. — In July an Agar mechanic was fired for trying to carry a small ham out of the plant in his lunch box. Most of the talk afterward was speculation about whether he had been set up and commentary on the stupidity of risking your job by stealing.

When you steal, there is the comparison between the pettiness of that worker’s theft and the enormity of what the company steals from us every day. They take our bodies, our dignity, our time and the wealth that we have produced.

What about the more frequent, lingering illnesses caused by stress? Backaches, headaches, neckaches, stomachaches, ulcers, lung cancer, and heart attacks? As we have said before, the company doesn’t care about the development of our minds. The wealth that we have produced is turned against us as the company seeks ways to automate us and eliminate us.

We can’t take back what is ours by stealing more ham. What we need to do is to change the whole society so that we can work together under conditions that maintain and develop our humanity.

---

**UAW at GM/Toyota?**

Fremont, Calif. — The UAW said the rumor that they were conceding to GM/Toyota the right to bypass the old workers in the plant isn’t true. They said Toyota doesn’t want anything to do with the union or with the old workers and wants to instill a similar method of pre-competitive interviewing in the U.S. Production won’t start till 1985 in any case.

They said they took the Local into receivership because it is broke. I think they want to have absolute control. They have already made, maybe to avoid a showdown they at least get back in the plant. Everyone has pretty well come to the conclusion that won’t happen now, that we will be locked out.

If there were unity among the UAW locals and among us we could get that plant open under any conditions we want to. We’d be in the plant right now instead of being in some ridiculous shell center getting $120 a week instead of a living wage.

---

**N.Y.C. subway motormen begin slowdown**

New York, N.Y. — Transit workers on the New York subway system have decided to eliminate the work of “outside expert,” Henry Williamson, blamed the motor men for the recent derailments. He called them “cowards” because they refused to do what the management wants them to.

If these men had one problem, they should ask us the workers. The main thing is that the tracks, tunnels and the cars are in bad shape. Instead of hiring more trackmen to fix them, all they do is cosmetic maintenance and painting. They also have an excess of foremen: one for every six workers!

After the eleventh derailment Simpson had to blame the tracks. Usually the Transit Authority (TA) mentions something ridiculous in a press release. They are the greatest liars in the world. Simpson can go on TV and lie without blinking an eye.

John Mobaugh, head of safety for the TA, rides around in an armchair at 30 m.p.h. “inspecting” the tracks. One foreman explained this: “He just inspect twice. You could call that a ‘management special.’ The only way to find out is to walk through and inspect the tracks. But to do that they have to shut down a line. The TA won’t let them — they are afraid to investigate.

---
Preface to Iranian edition of Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions

by Raha

We are presently — the fourth year since the 1979 Iranian Revolution — coming to the year of the Marx centenary. This is no mere coincidence; rather, it is the year when, finally, Marx's Marxism can be seen as a totality. It is only now that we can begin to make sense of what he meant by a "totality," and to ask the question of how to begin anew. We have gone through an actual revolution — a revolution so massive, and so profound, that it has uprooted and become ground for actual revolution by the oppressed and exploited millions in the Third World. It has emerged right from within the revolution which it turned out to be, and which, in turn, turned out to be the high point of the revolution.

WHAT IS EVEN worse now is to take defeat as our ground and to act today as if there was no way for the movement to go any further because of Iran's technological backwardness. Every judgement, every radical philosophical work on Marx's philosophy of revolution as well as his theory of economic determinism which identifies the whole of revolution with Khomeini, with "backwardness of the masses," with defeat, surely doesn't leave us anywhere to go. What is needed is a real look at revolution which doesn't begin with what appears to be the end result, but looks to the revolutionary process to answer the question what happens after the revolution.

This letter and her other Political-Philosophic Letters were the national leaders with the consciousness of technological backwardness, the need to industrialize, that they turned to one of the two poles of world capital — U.S. or Russia. Without the masses, i.e., without their reason as the basis of revolution and humanism, there remained no way to escape the objective vortex of the world market.

Each revolution, however, discloses something new, unique and challenging. The new in the Iranian Revolution reveals both great strength and great weakness. Four years ago, Iran was the birthplace of the greatest, most massive revolution that burst forth and brought ever broader and deeper layers of society to the actual scene of revolution, and so miraculously put an end to the despotic regime. Yet we have to睁睁 teeth against the teeth of the uninitiated technological weapons. What was even more outstanding than the overthrow of the Shah was the flowering of creative energies of millions in the ongoing revolution who felt themselves to be not just muscle but the Reason of revolution. The shahs that overthrow force of arms and certainly always with the imposition of Islamic ideology to transform them. That meant suppressing any initiative outside of opposition to the regime.

What is new in the very concept of revolution becomes crucial, one that can open a perspective of total uprooting and become ground for actual revolution by spelling out what we are for. It is therefore imperative to begin anew by preparing ourselves theoretically for the next stage of the revolution. The contribution of this pamphlet is what I hope can become a taking-off point in that direction. *In her keynote address to the Conference of the Center for Iranian Research and Analysis (Washington, D.C., April 2, 1983), Raya Dunayevskaya developed such a view of the totality of Marxism as that which challenges all the post-Marxist Marxists.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman
National Editorial Board

Charles DeWitt .................................. Editor
Felix Martin .................................. Co-Editor
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News & Letters
Vol. 25, No 7
August-September, 1983

Nationwide protests against Reagan’s Latin American policy

Washington, D.C.

Some 10,000 people demonstrated here on July 2 against Reagan’s Central American policies. Kepi small by a divided Left, the demonstration was enlivened by many young, independent people with home-made signs such as “Noboy’s Backyard,” by union participation, including the Newspaper Guild honoring the two journalists recently killed covering Reagan’s “secret” war, by a large contingent of disabled people who navigated the march in the terrible heat in wheelchairs, and by lesbians and gays who chanted, “Money for AIDS, not for war, U.S. out of El Salvador.”

The tactics of the protest were kept from coming into conflict — People’s Antiwar Mobilization — with each other. Participants released a balloon onto the rally site. Yet many independent people wore Solidarity buttons.

Sizeable numbers of Salvadoran, Nicaraguan and Guatemalan activists chantend revolutionary slogans that gave the day the flavor of Central America’s struggles.

— Marxist-Humanist participants

Concord weapons station

Oakland, Cal. — Around 4,000 demonstrators came out to the town of Concord to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador near the Concord Naval Weapons Station, where arms are being shipped to crush revolutions.

The marchers carried signs saying “Stop the Draft,” “End the Covert War in Central America,” and “Play it Again, Mr. Nam.” Many had packed a box of watermelons and 30 Livermore nuclear weapons lab blockade. Speakers at the rally included Ramon Cardenas of the FMLN, and around 49 people were arrested.

The following day, Monday, 200 blockaders returned to the gates of the Weapons Station to halt the morning shift, but it had been in earlier. The day over it then blockaders were arrested for stopping outgoing traffic and for going on the base, but charges against them were dropped later in the day.

Blockaders also returned Tuesday morning, when 60 people were arrested. Only those re-arrested from Monday were arrested, under the charge of kidnapping, because the local police called out experience after the June 20 Livermore blockade which had tied up the legal system for weeks.

While discussions of such actions still focus a great deal on the tactics and strategy of blockading, the protest at Concord was part of a movement that began last spring when anti-nuke activists joined with the movement opposing U.S. intervention in Central America. That relationship is sure to go further on Aug. 27 at the demonstration for jobs and freedom here commemorating the 1965 Civil Rights March on Washington.

— Latin America solidarity activist

General strike in Brazil

Workers at Ford, Caterpillar, the Embraer aircraft plant, the Niteroi shipyard and other factories shut down in Brazil. The strike started one day after the nation-wide general strike on July 21. It was the first general strike in 20 years of military rule and had been called by a union federation that began the following week on Aug. 27 at the demonstration.

Despite the arrest of union leaders on the eve of the strike, the antidemocratic military government, the armed forces, police and military police, marches and rallies were held in Brasilia, Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, and Rio where 35,000 people joined a nighttime march.

The general strike followed a strike earlier in July by workers at the state-owned oil refineries. The military government had responded by firing workers en masse and taking over unions, but had to step back when over 100,000 state employees walked out in sympathy, stopping all production in auto as well.

While the military government sidestepped default on the debt— the Brazilian masses continue to reject the whole International Monetary Fund austerity package which their rulers are trying to impose.

— Mary Holmes

LATIN AMERICA’S REVOLUTIONS IN REALITY, IN THOUGHT

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Guatemalan Revolutionaries

Speaks

Domingo Hernandez Ixoy — Quech Indian, founder of the Committee of Peasant Unity of Guatemala

Manuela Saquic — Ixil Indian, member of the Committee of Peasant Unity

Rigoberta Menchu — Quiche Indian, member of the Committee of Peasant Unity

Nicolas Balam — Cakchiquel Indian, member of the Peasant Committee of the Niteiroi shipyard

plus articles on

The Peasant Dimension in Latin America, by Mike Connolly

The 1954 Guatemalan Coup, by Ray Dunayevskaya

For an added dimension see Guatemalan Revolutionaries, Speaks, which features both the voices of today’s revolutionaries — including Rigoberta Menchu — and the history of Guatemala, within a Marxist-Humanist philosophical framework. See ad, this page.

Legal

IN REALITY, IN THOUGHT

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NEWS & LETTERS

August-September, 1983

Page 5

Guatemalans in Rebellion: Unfinished History


As a desperate Reagan daily escalates his war against the people of Central America, this new collection of documents, analyses, eyewitness reports and interviews presents a unique picture of Guatemala’s people and their revolutionary process that could not have appeared at a better time for the American people to become acquainted with these people, their reality, their struggle, their ideas.

From the first section, a letter from the Spanish conquistador Pedro de Alvarado written to Hernan Cortes in 1524, in which he reports that the Maya Indians, upon being ordered to serve the Pope and the Spanish king or be exterminated, “sent me word they did not know which was the better choice.”

The Peasant Dimension in Latin America

by Mike Connolly

The Peasant Dimension in Latin America, within a Marxist-Humanist philosophical framework, presents a unique picture of Guatemala’s people and their revolutionary process, but teach us much about all of humanity’s struggles and vision to be free, including our own.

We read the story of the Guatemalan union movement as a microcosm of the nation-wide general strike on July 21. It was the first general strike in 20 years of military rule and had been called by a union federation that began last spring when anti-nuke activists joined with the movement opposing U.S. intervention in Central America. That relationship is sure to go further on Aug. 27 at the demonstration for jobs and freedom here commemorating the 1965 Civil Rights March on Washington.

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LEGAL
ON OUR DRAFT PERSPECTIVES: MASS UNREST AT HOME AND ABOUND IN GLOBAL YEAR OF MISSILE

Your Perspectives Thesis (July N&L) talks of 32 million unemployed in the West. The crisis is so real. We used to think of people going from place to place looking for a job. Now they are going from state to state. I have heard from a man from Mobile, Ala. He had been in Nashville looking for a job, and now was in California. And my brother knew all the way to Hawaii to find work.

Young Black man
Los Angeles

I wish your Draft Perspectives Thesis could have included one more element in its title, “Mass Unrest at Home and Abroad in the Global Year of the Missile” certainly summed up the objective-subjective situation we face. The new mass movement centered on the idea that there is only one country making trouble for the U.S. in the entire world. This is the U.S., between mental and manual work of all class societies, which must be abolished.” No other Left group, says N&L, has described Mass Unrest and farm out its func- tion to other cities around the country is aimed at breaking up this center of opposition.

Mary Holmes
Oakland, Calif.

Did you hear Reagan say, “Remember the Maine!” Well, that was the battle cry of U.S. imperialism in the war against Spain in 1898. That was the slogan that “won” for the colonies in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. Is that where we are going now? At work people have to get the bulletin before page headlines: “Reagan orders Navy ships to Central America,” as well as leaflets against U.S. intervention.

Scared and angry
Chicago

Presently about 500 persons await trial by Secret Tribunals in Guatemala, tribunals set up July 25, 1982 by Gen. Rios Montt. The tribunals serve as an instrument of repression, a legal pretext to systematically arrest, imprison, and execute suspected opponents. Many of those awaiting trial have been denied legal aid while in solitary and inhumane detention. Most do not know the charges against them, and may not even know that they will be tried by a Secret Tribunal. Since last July, 13 have been executed, by government court.

The Guatemalan Human Rights Commission is keenly aware of the suffering caused by the operations of the Tribunals. We find especially repulsive the “chain code” and “megamarch” tactics in order to hide the cruel and inhuman reality. The Secret Tribunals must end. For information on how you can help with the campaign to abolish them, write to:

Guatemalan Human Rights Commission
P.O. Box, 91 Cardinal Station
Washington, D.C. 20004

CONTINUOUS BLACK FREEDOM STRUGGLE... IN AZANIA...

We want to thank you for the articles in the July N&L by Lou Turner on our Sow­eto Day conference at Howard Univer­sity. Lou has written a concise and informative account of the conference. We are very pleased with that article and the other reports on the support rallies to free Azania. As we continue to receive material from the Black Consciousness Movement inside South Africa, we will pass it on to you to inform you of the developments and the work that is going on the Aug. 27 March on Washington. Black Consciousness Movement
Washington, D.C.

I read that the workers in South Africa recently won a victory in the courts. It was ruled that supervision could not be imposed in the workplace as “humanitarian.” That’s an accomplishment we don’t have here! Management here likes it to us like dirt. It’s another way of de­humanizing you. We have a lot to learn from the South African struggle.

Black worker
Los Angeles

I am 68 of the three Civil Rights workers — a Los Angeles woman, a Chicago man and a New York City man. I saw them. It was an exciting event. The movement for freedom is continuous.”

...AND IN THE USA

I was one of the 1,500 Black women that attended the First National Black Women’s Health Conference in Atlanta, Ga. last month and was happy to see your report in the July issue of N&L. I would like to point out an inaccuracy in your report and set the record straight. As one of those that were at the conference, I can confidently say that not only were we not surprised that grass roots women understood, but we helped to invite grass roots women by offering over 400 scholars to attend such a conference. Still, I did enjoy reading your paper.

Reader
Atlanta, Ga.

I was so glad to hear about the demonstration by Black and Latino construction workers and the demonstrations at the construction site of the Marriott Hotel for three hours, banging metal pipes against the steel girders and demanding jobs. They said that a check showed only 20 of the 270 workers on the site were Black and that when “good faith negotiations” were promised, but not a single job has been offered.

It all underlines how far we still have to go in this country, to get the so-called “industrial re­v­ill­ization.” Over 20 years ago I was arrested at a New York construction site for protesting the same kind of lily-white workforce they still use (with token changes). I don’t want to hear any more nonsense about “how far we have come” from Democrats, Republicans or union leaders.

Civil rights veteran
Michigan

TEAMSTERS GIVE BACKS

The Teamsters’ union leadership granted me the right to speak at the St. Louis meeting last week. I spoke at the meeting. I spoke at the meeting in August 1982, and they are already planning another major giveback. There are 100,000 Teamsters laid-off out of 300,000 covered by the Master Contract and all that Jackie Presser can come up with is another major cut in the wages of workers. Presser has called for a “voluntary laid-off employ­ees” program. He has promised to include in this program that wage cuts would mean pay cuts of 33% for long dis­

tance drivers and 18% cuts for city drivers and warehouse workers.

When is this all going to end? It’s not about time that labor said NO to givebacks!

Warehousemen
Los Angeles

TWO VIEWS OF YOUTH

I appreciate your emphasis on youth as a force of revolution. Not seeing youth that way is an obstacle to our anti-war move­ment. Petro Kelly of Germany’s Greens has told us that we were profited by the visit of U.S. Vice President Bush. “They’re only punks.” She has also said that young people are specialists in the art of resistance by “other” issues, like unemployment! I can only say that I have met punks active in the anti-war movement here — including people from England: “We’re all unemployed,” they say — and they have exciting ideas that need expression.

Anti-war activist
Oakland, Calif.
Call off the Dogs of War

This July, Ronald Reagan unleashed the dogs of war throughout Central America. He has given new meaning to words that have traditionally summed up U.S. policy in Latin America — gunboat diplomacy. At the same time Reagan has slapped the people of Latin America across the face with his appointment of Nixon's Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, to head a commission studying a long-term approach for U.S. policy towards Central America. The commission's New Jerusalem Pine is a massive war ship, armed with 16-inch guns that will move through the Panama Canal to join the other ships in the Caribbean. Naval maneuvers, including a military quarantine or even a full blockade of all shipping to Nicaragua, are being cleared for by engineer battalions to accommodate C-5 Galaxy transports, the Air Force's largest, as well as more U.S. military personnel, including hired mercenary forces now being trained in the U.S.

If Honduras is a battlefield, the Reagan Administration appears to want to make Nicaragua the battleground. Not only do we have Reagan's saber-rattling statements calling for revolution, but in the spirit of replacing the Sandinistas, he is enacting policies that have an extreme escalation in the production, training, arming and financing of counter-revolutionary forces being imported into Nicaragua from the border areas of Honduras and Costa Rica. The numbers, now above 30,000 and seemingly headed for at least double that number, appeared as if produced off a United States factory assembly line.

July was also the month that the Reagan Administration went through its sham “certification of progress for human rights” for El Salvador so that Congressional money could continue. But meanwhile a new secret White House working paper calling for more than a 30 percent increase in military aid to the dictatorship ruling El Salvador, and new proposals in the works to increase U.S. military presence in El Salvador from 55 to 125 military advisor-trainers. This same working paper as well calls for substantial increases in U.S. military money for Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica.

NICARAGUAN AND CUBAN REVOLUTIONS

But July is not alone a time of counter-revolution and war. This July is as well the fourth anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution that overthrew the decades-long regime of the U.S. sponsored Somorzas, and the thirty-anniversary of the beginning of Cuban Revolution. It is this July, nearly a half decade after the October revolution of 1973, that the people of Nicaragua and Cuba are celebrating new beginnings in Chile, and in many parts of Latin America signify today. It is this July, 50 years after the Sandinistas began their war of national liberation against imperialism, that the people of Nicaragua and Cuba are celebrating new beginnings in Central America.

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BLACK-RED VIEW

Language, consciousness and freedom in Azania

by John Alan

Recently the fledging Black trade union movement in South Africa won a victory against the system of apartheid. Whites may no longer call Black workers “boy” or “lätek.” This victory has been called “the Birth of the Nation” by the Johannesburg after a dispute that involved the United African Motor and Allied Workers Union and Ford Motor Company Ltd.

South Africa’s Black unionists hailed this as a victory for “human dignity and respect for workers” that will stand as one of the hallmarks of Black trade unionism in South Africa, especially white supervisors in the factories and mines. Under the ruling the company is required to discipline the whites who humiliated Black trade unionists, but the type of discipline was not specified.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AT THE POINT OF PRODUCTION

Some of us Blacks living in the relative racial freedom of the United States, may consider this a minor victory and yet a consciousness was a revolutionary phenomenon that revealed the imagination of the South African Black masses after the fall of Portuguese colonialism in South Africa. This consciousness was developed into a theory of mass resistance to apartheid, which both divides and unites Black thought at a time when the Black Consciousness Movement is yet to develop.

In 1978, when Steve Biko and nine other people were put on trial by the Supreme Court for their critical intentions, that is, for their thoughts and philosophy, Biko subtly defended the usage of the word “Black” as the word for the most universal white, within the political and social context of South Africa, though neither white nor Black was an accurate description of the races, as white and black are alternative words for Black, even brown. Whites still would call them Black and government would call it (Black) to a position where we could look upon it positively.

This trial Biko was able to speak about language, when the judge suggested that Blacks could speak Afrikaans easier than English because Afrikaans is an idiolect, that was destroying both the bodies and the spirit of the Black majority.

Black consciousness groups that sprung from the ideas broke with all past attitudes toward Black liberation in South Africa. They called upon the Black masses to resist not just the domination of white society but also the domination of Black society, to speak out against all forms of white and Black trade union grows in strength and militancy, the concept of the Black Consciousness Movement is yet to develop.

Review: ‘Philosophy Born of Struggle’

Though the two warring tendencies in Professor Harris’ analysis are extremely close, to keep in mind that the source of both is the Hegelian dialectic and both have American roots. It is in this context that the spirit of the Black Consciousness Movement, which both divides and unites Black thought at a time when the Black Consciousness Movement is yet to develop.

For a copy of the bulletin write to The Committee of Solidarity with Azanian Workers, 82 Pr. Marina Rd, New York, N.Y. 10016.
European farmers explained their very similar problems under the agricultural policies of the European Economic Community (EEC) which were designed for the largest producers and were driving small farmers from the land in every country. It became clear to North Americans that it was for the good of the United States that the U.S. government leaders would have them believe by claiming that the EEC unfairly subsidized them to dump their crops on the market of every country. It became clear to North Americans that this was the world market.

The government leaders would have them believe by claiming that the crisis for the small family farmer, but as what was for the good of the United States, that low farm prices — now lower in terms of parity with the rest of the economy — are not in terms of parity with the rest of the economy at any time in this century — have resulted from a 17th century catastrophe. That’s what the government was forced to resell the land to the farmers — the land that had been used to plant crops on land “bought” for a military base. They kept to the developed economies and Third World peasant groups.

The crisis in agriculture

Speaker after speaker pointed to the sudden plunge in land prices throughout North America as not the beginning of the crisis but the farm crisis of the international farm crisis of the 1970s to 1982. Farm land prices dropped 16% in Iowa and Minnesota, and 20% in Illinois.

The farmers who had been substituting credit for income, borrowing against sharply rising land values for more than 50 years, were suddenly having banks and the Farmers Home Administration foreclosing.

The crisis is not merely cyclical or due to “natural causes.” The farmers actions between 1929 and 1965, more than 30 million people left the farm in the U.S. and every country, and laid plans for this International Farm Crisis Summit that we were attending.

Many months before a meeting as being the North Americans, for the U.S. farmers to the day when he opened the Summit with the hope that there would be a farmer on every bus to Washington on Aug. 27 to give support to the farmers’ struggle, and there was not one Black farmer in attendance, even though whatever you say about the crisis of the family farm in the U.S., there is no one who is running a farm for a half century or more, or bank foreclosures and the drying up of farm credit — are multiple for the Black farmer who is running a farm for a half century or more. The government was forced to resell the land to the bank for a half century or more, or bank foreclosures and the drying up of farm credit — are multiple for the Black farmer who is running a farm for a half century or more.

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It's the threat of a "new labor-management relation" which is keeping workers' eyes glued to what happens at the Nissan plant in Tennessee and Toyota-GM plant scheduled to open in Fremont, Calif. By now it's no secret what is behind the "success story" of the Japanese auto industry — maximizing mass production, massive unionization, and company unions. The founding slogan of the Nissan Labor Union (Nissan is the maker of Datsun) is "those who work, love their company. Wage increases shall derive from increasing productivity." This translates into long hours, low pay, and poor union representation which Japanese workers have fought against for decades.

At Nissan plants in Japan, one way the company tries to increase productivity is with the "quality control circle." These are small groups organized on the shop floor that put workers in the position of reporting to the company on ways to increase production. It is precisely such conditions of slave labor and class collaboration that the automakers hope to bring to the U.S. plants. And the legacy of the UAW's capitulation to concession after concession only helps lay the groundwork for that.

**War Resisters meet in Easton, Pa.** — By attending the 60th anniversary conference of the World War Resisters League, which brought together 200 people together, I had the opportunity to learn more about the actions taking place across the country against militarism.

The focus on grass roots-type resistance gave attention to events such as those that have taken place in the small towns and rural areas of the U.S. which usually go unreported in the daily press. To hear about the extent of civil disobedience actions against nuclear reactors, air force bases, utilities, training bases, missile sites and submarine ports gave a different picture of so-called middle America. A recent development has been the sanctuary movement. A woman from New Mexico told of the network of churches which is developing to give shelter and protection to the people fleeing from the U.S. government. She was most impressed with the courage and initiative of the New Mexico people who frequently help transport the refugees by car in trips that involve distances such as that between Tucson and Albuquerque. The United States government is not only refusing to grant political asylum to these refugees, but is trying to stir up a racist hysteria against Latin American refugees.

The conference also heard from a participant in the ongoing anti-nuke struggle in nearby Bucks County, Pennsylvania. He told the conference of the campaign to save a pump station on the Delaware waterfront which is being constructed in order to divert water to the Limerick nuclear power plant. Residents had organized against these plans as well as against solid waste dumping and pollution of the water tables. In the same area, a group has been working to keep a county-wide referendum to shut down the station, the local government disregarded the opposition. The direct action on the station site is ramping up with police beatings and during the weekend of the conference, 70 activists were in jail.

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**Italian elections report**

Milan, Italy — The results of the Italian elections this year were a surprise for almost everyone. The Christian Democratic (Catholic) Party lost at least six percent of its votes, while the Communist Party (CP) received around the same number of votes that it got in the elections of 1976. Both these high political parties at an almost equal level: the Christian Democrats with 25%, the votes and 121 delegates in Parliament compared to the CP's 24% of the votes and 109 delegates. The rest of the votes have been distributed to the other right and left parties, while those who did not vote at all were not more than 12%.

Thus, Italy, already in a deep political and economic crisis — probably the most unstable country in all of Western Europe — seems to have reached a point of real ungovertability.

The fusion of the old left has also made news. The PDUP that has for more than 10 years presented itself in the elections as a Marxist-Leninist alternative to the Communist Party decided to unite its list to that of the CP. None of the PDUP's delegates were elected. Instead Democracy-proletaria, a new party which is composed of what is left of the Marxist-Leninist groups formed during and after 1968, gained around seven percent in Parliament. That is more or less the same percentage of the votes that the PDUP received in the elections of 1979.

Much more spectacular was the election of the political prisoners, and in particular as a candidate for the Radical Party, a party that has always supported social causes rather than presenting a political program. When Negri was arrested along with some 150 others that called his "associates," he was Director of the Department of Political Science of the University of Padua, an editor of the newspaper Rete that supported the spontaneous movement called au­tonomia operaia and that contested the para-military terror groups that have been active in Italy since 1970. Toni Negri has been held in prison for more than four years. The Court has repeatedly refused to find any proof to condemn him of the some 60 crimes he is accused of. With his election to Parliament, Negri is subject to parliamentary immunity and has to be freed from prison. He has stated that, in connection with his trial, he will refuse parliamentary immunity in order that the trial takes place so that he, along with those arrested with him, can demonstrate that they have been falsely accused. Then he will use his parliamentary power to attempt to change the situation in which there are some 4,000 political prisoners in Italian jails, many others live in exile in Western countries.

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Margaret Eillingham


**YOUTH**  
*New Economy* and youth

by Jim Mills

Here are some dispatches from the Michigan Youth Corps, a jobs program the new Democratic Governor James Blanchard created for poor youth this summer:

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Parents were held in a school near where I live. Parents were the highways for the standard minimun wage of $3.35 an hour. She was told to take the job or lose her general assistance benefits of $141 a month. Though a high school graduate, this was the only job she was "qualified" for.

A young man is spending his summer shuttling algae from the beaches. This, despite the fact that he got straight A's in welding, math, English and machine shop in high school. A 21-year-old worker needs the income so badly that she promises to return only a week after giving birth to a baby.

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**JOBS PROGRAM AND TEENAGERS**

These dispatches tell us something about the desperation of America's unemployed youth, Black youth especially. The teachers ignore us, they can't even see us. The teachers ignore us, and we will not get a job soon. The latest figures show that 33% of the youth, 18 to 19, are unemployed. That doesn't count those who have given up looking. For Black youth it's a little worse. In New York City their unemployment rate is 60%.

The Michigan Youth Corps is a throw back to the make-work programs of the New Deal. Though the programs are interesting, most are cutting weeds, picking up garbage along highways and cleaning sewers. And a little disciplinary twist has been added to the program. Officials have set up a toll-free telephone number and encouraged the public to use it to complain if they see any of their friends with the Corps working who has set aside the job scene for teenagers, that 75,000 poured in to apply, though only 25,000 were hired. (See "Inside Youth Corps" on page 12.)

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**Are we trying to prepare young people for a repressive future?**

Are we in a machine shop in high school.

Youth have their own ideas too. The teachers ignore us. They call it discipline — they think they're teaching us about life. We want to work until four, but they still waited until the last minute. They had the checks at lunch time, but they didn't give them to us. Well, the driver wouldn't give them to us. They told him he had to put them in an application saying he was underprivileged, but he would be starting out all over again.

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Lebanon

A glimpse of mass unrest and class struggle in Lebanon broke out into the open on July 15, when the internal police moved into a poor Shiite Moslem neighborhood in West Beirut to evict squatters from an abandoned school. They were met by a large angry crowd that three streets at the police and set barricades in the street. The police called in the army and three civilians were killed in the ensuing battle.

The squatters are among thousands of refugees who have fled to West Beirut from southern Lebanon over the past eight years. They are unable to pay the exorbitant rents for what little housing remains, and families have had to take over and live in the caves, blighted, war-torn buildings. The government of President Amin Gemayel, head of the fascist Phalange, has done nothing to provide housing, instead using the Army to enforce eviction notices for landlords who now think it is "safe" to move back.

The growing mass discontent broke out the same day south of Beirut when 1,000 Druse townspeople threw stones and broke windows of a convoy which had come to investigate for preparations to occupy the Shefa area. Unrest also erupted against the occupying Israeli army at Aley and Jezzine, Ras Naqa and southern Lebanon.

The Lebanese opposition "National Salvation Front," formed in the wake of these outbreaks, includes Suleiman Frangieh, former president who opened Lebanon to the Syrian Army to put down a growing class war against Christian right rulers in 1975-76; and Walid Jumblatt, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party and the left wing of the Front. What is uniting them at present is opposition to the Gemayel Phalangist government.

Honduras

Honduras is now being built up by Reagan as the latest landing pad for attacks on Nicaragua by exiled "contras." It is already swarming with CIA, Green Berets, military "advisers" and a diplomatic staff from the U.S., etc. The present government is a "military-landed" one.

This American presence is not new. In 1903, 1919 and 1924 the U.S. Marines invaded and occupied Honduras to "maintain order." They ran companies such as United Fruit (today United Brands), Canaile and Cooke, and Chase Manhattan. U.S. companies still control 66% of the economy. This American imperialist presence is deeply resented by the people.

President Roberto Suazo Cordova was elected in 1982 after ten years of military rule. He promised to take the army out of politics, to enact social reforms and to avoid confrontation with Nicaragua. He has done the opposite, under pressure from General Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, the real power in the country, trained in Argentina and banking on the "democracy," U.S. imperialist counterpieces to Nicaragua.

Honduras is the third poorest country in the hemisphere. After Brazil and Mexico, it has the lowest per capita income in Latin America. The per capita income is $524 per year but the vast majority and 60% of the labor force is working less than full-time.

In 1982, 60% of the country's sables are due to arrive in West Germany. Several million African refugees are expected to arrive in West Germany. Several million African refugees are expected to arrive in West Germany.

Tanzania

The role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is one way of measuring the crisis facing the world's poorest continent. African famine is today a very real possibility. The poorest countries such as Tanzania for example are facing cruel balance of payments problems because of the skyrocketing world inflation of the 1970s. In the last eight years the price of oil relative to coffee has almost doubled for a country without oil, significant industry or other exportable natural resources. By 1980, 60% of the country's meager export earnings went for oil. Virtually all the rest went to debt payments.

In 1980 the IMF dictated to Tanzania terms for a new and desperately needed loan: lower wages, raise prices, devalue the shilling and cut funding for schools and health. The pride of Tanzania's socialism is its literacy rate of 70% and its 2,600 health facilities, a level of development for human needs unmatched anywhere in Africa. Tanzania publicly refused and defied the IMF for three years, but today shortages of spare parts for industry have ground the economy to a near halt and the government has been forced to call the IMF back.

In fact it's worse than if nothing had changed. The government powers considered unusual before are now part of the legal order. The State is aimed against the masses. The largest wing of the peace movement is strictly for the State is aimed against the masses. The largest wing of the peace movement is strictly for

Hungary

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At 8 p.m., July 12, tens of thousands of Chilean people came to their windows and banged on pots and flew their cars to protest the murder of a young student who had fantasies of being a guerrilla. Barricades went up as residents fought police. This was the third monthly mass outpouring in a row against the Pinochet dictatorship.

Struggles against Pinochet in Chile gain new intensity

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